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PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

A Report of Bay Area Survey No. 1

Metro govt. SF bay area
Pub. op. Govt.
" " SF bay area

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

REGIONAL GOVERNANCE: A LOW-VISIBILITY ISSUE

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GOVERNMENTAL PROPOSAL: A QUICK OVERVIEW

THE WELL INFORMED AND THE BETTER EDUCATED: A KNOWLEDGEABLE MINORITY

ATTITUDES OF OTHER GROUPINGS

WHY DO RESIDENTS SUPPORT OR OPPOSE?

- Reasons Given for Support
- Reasons for Opposition

PROBLEMS FOR A NEW REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The system of regional governance that decides major issues affecting the future of the San Francisco Bay Area is neither well understood nor highly visible in the eyes of most citizens. But those who are most aware of public affairs have some rather definite ideas about how the region should be run. These were among the principal findings of Bay Area Survey #1, conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley. A five-county sample of 1,018 residents were asked about a wide range of issues in June-August, 1971. Their responses to several questions on regional government in the Bay Area were recently made public and are analyzed here.[1]

REGIONAL GOVERNANCE: A LOW-VISIBILITY ISSUE

The Bay Area's dispersed system of regional governance has such low visibility that comparatively few residents could name some of the most important governmental units, although the latter have been in existence for many years, and are charged with responsible functions and often controversial decisions of substantial significance to the region. When respondents were asked to cite agencies working on Bay Area problems, the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG)--the regional council of Governments--was mentioned more often than any other. But even ABAG was named by only 9 percent of those queried. Three other important regional agencies, the Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART), the Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC), and the Bay Area Air Pollution Control

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[1] See Appendix A for further information on the Bay Area Survey #1, and the methods and questions employed.

District, were mentioned by 7 percent, 5 percent and 5 percent of the residents, respectively. A number of other regional agencies were cited by still smaller numbers, trailing on downward from the 2 percent who named the Regional Water Quality Control Board (see Table A).

A cumulative total of 26 percent of Bay Area residents were able to name at least one existing regional agency on quick recall (see Table 1). Assemblyman John Knox's 1971 legislative proposal to set up a regional government (or umbrella agency) in the Bay Area fared slightly better: 30 percent indicated that they had heard of it before.[2] By contrast, 71 percent said that they had heard of plans to build a new Bridge over San Francisco Bay (the Second Crossing). The latter was a highly controversial issue in Sacramento last year, and was finally put up for a referendum vote in six counties on the June, 1972 ballot. Moreover during the survey period, the Southern Crossing issue was frequently front page news, as environmentalist and public transit exponents sought to block or delay construction of the bridge, and both legislative leaders and Governor Reagan took highly publicized and opposing stands on the matter.

But beyond sheer volume of news coverage, the regional governance and Second Crossing issues may have differed in another important respect, i.e., the extent to which they can be readily grasped and understood by the average citizen. Most residents presumably could visualize the proposed new bridge in at least an approximate way, aided by the artists

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[2]The proposal for a regional government, which would have been called the "Bay Conservation and Development Agency," is outlined in Appendix B.

sketches and maps that appeared in the newspapers.

Perhaps many respondents believed they could also speculate with a degree of self-confidence on how the bridge might affect their lives, and whether it would be useful to them. After all, a bridge is rather a known quantity here in the San Francisco Bay Area, where thousands of commuters use them daily, alternately blessing them as transportation arteries to jobs and entertainment, and cursing their traffic jams.

But the area's diffuse system of regional governance, as well as the proposed plan for a new regional umbrella agency, appear to be rather remote and abstract, and are not in themselves seen as touching the daily lives of the residents. Out of sight, out of mind, perhaps?

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GOVERNMENTAL PROPOSAL: A QUICK OVERVIEW

Although a minority of only one quarter to one third of the residents seem to give much thought to the region's governance, it is important to explore as best we can who they are, what their backgrounds are, and what they think. Further, it may also be instructive to learn more about those who seem comparatively oblivious to the region's governmental machinery. The University's Bay Area Survey #1 affords a unique first opportunity for a revealing look at what citizens think about their region's government.

The proposal for a regional government elicited a definitely favorable response, even among those who had not heard of it before. Thirty-seven percent or all respondents said they favored the plan, against only 22 percent who said they opposed it (see Table 2). Excluding the large numbers who had no opinions--41 percent--favorable responses outnumbered opposing opinions by almost two to one.

In part, this broadly positive response to the governmental plan may reflect a desire on the part of many people to approve of apparently well-intentioned, if unfamiliar proposals. But there is also considerable evidence that many of the favorable views rest on firmer foundations, for those in the best position to make informed judgements were frequently supporters of the regional government idea.

THE WELL-INFORMED AND THE BETTER EDUCATED: A KNOWLEDGEABLE MINORITY

As noted, only 30 percent of the entire sample had heard of the proposal. But 51 percent of this knowledgeable group favored it, while only 23 percent were opposed, and 26 had not opinion (see Table 2). Among those to whom the plan was a new idea, only 31 percent favored it, 22 percent were opposed, and nearly half, 47 percent, had no opinion.

Ability to name existing regional agencies is clearly a good indicator of familiarity with regional affairs, and support for the plan was definitely stronger among those who were more knowledgeable (see Table 2). For example, respondents who could name at least two existing regional agencies (and who also expressed an opinion of the regional government concept) supported it by a ratio of almost three to one (73 percent). Less than one fifth of the group voiced no opinion.

In contrast, only 59 percent of those who could not name any existing (and who also expressed an opinion) regional agency favored the proposal. This very large group of poorly informed respondents is potentially very important, however, as it comprises nearly 75 percent of the entire Bay Area sample. Thus it deserves a closer look. This large group of non-knowledgeables still favored the regional proposal, 31 percent for v. 22 percent opposed, but nearly half

(47 percent) said they had not made up their minds or did not know. This means, in sum, that approximately 35 percent of the entire Bay Area sample knew little or nothing about their regional governance, and also had no opinion on the proposal. Given such a large population of uninformed and uncommitted residents, predicting the outcome of any future referenda on regional government, on the basis of viewpoints expressed in 1971, is obviously a hazardous enterprise. Certainly the seeming lack of knowledge and sophistication on the part of a huge bloc of potential voters (75 percent) renders them highly vulnerable to the scare tactics and campaigns of misinformation that typically precede plebescites.

Table 3 provides additional supporting evidence, based on educational background. Approval of the proposal was most common among the best educated respondents, and least common among those with the most limited educational backgrounds. College graduates who had heard of the proposal and expressed an opinion favored it by a ratio of almost four to one. In short, those who were better educated and most likely to know something about the issues involved favored the new regional government concept overwhelmingly.

Findings such as this last one are, however, easily subject to misinterpretation. Thus we cannot safely conclude that an intensive informational campaign would necessarily produce high levels of awareness and support for regional government among other portions of the electorate. This is not necessarily the case, for several reasons.

Only one person out of four could name a single one of the area's existing regional agencies, despite their long years of activity and substantial amounts of ongoing publicity. Thus an individual's long-term awareness of public affairs in his region or community seems unlikely to be changed drastically by a single educational or propaganda effort, however high-powered.

Moreover, since the purposes and functions of regional government are not easily grasped by those who are unfamiliar with the region's problems, it is quite possible that informational campaigns might pass right over their heads, leaving them exposed to counter arguments. Opponents, for example, might make much political capital by raising fears of increased taxes, or by claiming that regional government could do little to affect the concerns poor people care most about. This potential is emphasized by the possibility that the poorer and less well-educated segments of society may not share certain interests and concerns that help produce problem-awareness and acceptance of regional solutions on the part of affluent and better educated residents.

ATTITUDES OF OTHER GROUPINGS

It is now useful to examine variations in awareness of the regional government proposal--and attitudes toward it--by other broad sectors of the public, grouped by sex, age, ethnicity, place of residence, and political preference. These are shown in Table 3.

Men and women were about equally aware of the proposal. As might be expected, their opinions of the regional government idea did not vary

greatly. Although women were less ready--or felt less obligation--to take a stand until they were better informed--47 percent said "don't know" v. 34 percent of the men--the proportion favoring the governmental proposal was idenitcal for each sex.

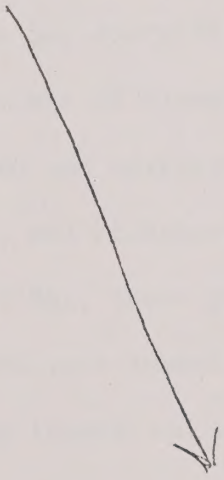
Age, on the other hand, was a critical determinant. Although young people under 25 years were less likely than other age groups to have heard of the regional government idea before, a large proportion (43 percent) nevertheless stood ready to endorse it, against only 13 percent who opposed and 44 percent who where not committed.

Thus young people willing to take a stand supported the concept almost four to one (79 percent). This proportion varied little with educational level or previous familiarity with the concept. Perhaps the regional proposal engaged the environmental or ecological concerns of many young people, but whatever the reason, the young seem to be among the strongest supporters of regional government.

Persons 65 years of age or older, by contrast, showed more opposition than any other age group. A slim majority of those willing to take a stand were actually in opposition (52 percent). The two other age groupings fell between the young and the old. Thus the 25-to-44's who expressed an opinion were 63 percent in favor. Moreover, knowledgeable individuals in this group who had heard of the proposal before were almost as strong supporters as were youth (73 percent). Sixty-one percent of the 45-to-64's who expressed an opinion were favorable to the proposal.

Ethnicity made substantial differences in awareness, but affected support less than might have been expected. As could be predicted by their typically higher levels of educational attainment, members of the white majority were somewhat more likely to have heard of the plan than members of racial and ethnic minorities. They also were somewhat more likely to favor regional government. But the differences in opinion are not overwhelming, and among minority group members willing to take a stand, appreciably more than half favored the plan.

Two significant differences did show up. First, previous knowledge of the proposal did not predispose minorities to favor it, as it did in the case of whites. Second, some of the most pronounced ethnic differences are



in awareness, with only 4 percent of the Spanish surname respondents and only 16 percent of the other non-Black minorities having heard of the plan before. For many members of these groups, the issues of regional government must seem exceedingly remote.

The geographic distribution of support for the plan appears to reflect, at least in part, the educational/ethnic differences already mentioned. Favorable opinion is strongest in such relatively affluent white suburban areas as Marin County, the Berkeley-El Cerrito area, and the string of smaller cities from Orinda to Concord in Central Contra Costa County. Support is less strong in the central city areas of San Francisco and Oakland, with their larger minority populations and typically lower average levels of affluence and educational attainment.

The geographic pattern of support and opposition suggests another factor of potential importance. The only portion of the Bay Area whose opposition outweighed favorable views is one described as "Outlying East Bay," and consists of the eastern portions of Alameda County, such as Livermore and Pleasanton, and the eastern and northern portions of Contra Costa County, such as Martinez, Antioch, and Pittsburg. These comprise the more peripheral portions of the East Bay, those perhaps having less to gain from regional government and with less immediate involvement in the environmental problems of the Bay itself and its heavily urbanized surrounding communities.

Finally, some minor variations in support are observed by party preference, but the issues of regional government do not appear to have been highly partisan at the time of the survey. Persons describing themselves as "strong Republicans" were less likely to support the plan (50 percent) than persons of other political persuasions, while those describing themselves as "independents" (68 percent) or "strong Democrats" (also 68 percent)

were most likely to support it. But "other Republicans" (62 percent) and "other Democrats" (57 percent) differ little in their views. When a simple classification of Republicans, Democrats, and independents is made, a clear majority of those voicing an opinion in each group favor the plan.

WHY DO RESIDENTS SUPPORT OR OPPOSE?

An expression of support for regional government may be misleading if it is based on faulty assumptions of what regional government is and what functions it may perform. Partly for this reason, respondents willing to take a stand for or against the regional government plan were also asked to explain why.

Reasons Given For Support

Reasons given for support of the regional government idea show some interesting patterns and contrasts (see Table 4). Some of the information in Table 4 has been re-tabulated in Table 4a and 4b, to bring out differences between the answers of those presumed to be more knowledgeable, on one hand, and less knowledgeable, on the other. The "knowledgeables" gave highest rank to "the region is a logical unit of governance; city and county boundaries are accidental," 31 percent of those who had heard of the plan before gave this answer, and 34 percent of college graduates. Second in rank was "coordination and cooperation," 21 percent and 19 percent, respectively. Third was "will give Bay Area more say vis-a-vis rest of state or state government," with 16 percent and 18 percent respectively. Fourth was "will help solve specific problems of interest to respondent, 16 percent and 22 percent respectively. (This last response was actually the second highest ranked for college graduates.)

Responses given by the less knowledgeable respondents differed markedly from the above pattern. In the first place, they gave the highest ranking

vis-a-vis rest of state
to "will give the Bay Area more say /," 29 percent and 27 percent respectively. Second ranking was given to "will give people more direct say in government...," 21 percent and 21 percent, respectively. hird (or fourth) they ranked "will help solve specific problem of interest to respondent," 16 percent and 12 percent, respectively. Fourth and last (third in case of high school graduates), they ranked "region is a logical unit," 12 percent and 13 percent, respectively.

These two sets of rankings seem to represent both a marked difference in priorities and an appreciable amount of common ground. The common ground is seen in the fact that both groups ranked the same three reasons among the top four, although in quite different order.

On the other hand, among the significant differences, the knowledgeables ranked coordination second, while the less knowledgeables left it out. Furthermore, the less knowledgeable respondents gave second rank to "will give people more direct say in government...," whereas the knowledgeables left it out of the top four.

The differences are further highlighted by the fact that the favorite reason given by the knowledgeables, "region is a logical unit...," was ranked last by the less knowledgeables. Similarly, the favorite reason given by the less knowledgeables was ranked substantially lower (third) by the knowledgeables: "will give Bay Area more say vis-a-vis rest of state..."

Some soul searching with respect to what all this means suggests that these two sets of views do not represent knowledge and awareness on one hand, versus simple obtuseness on the other. Both views may have considerable merit in helping understand what the proposed government might achieve. Both certainly help tell us what proponents hope it will do.

The differences may reflect differences in life styles and ways of looking at the world. Thus more sophisticated, consensus-forming concepts, such as

the logical unity of the region and need for coordination are emphasized by the knowledgeables, whereas the others may be expressing a more visceral response to the political muscle they see the new government as conferring on the Bay Area in its struggles with the rest of the state.

Both groups give modest but not inconsiderable percentages to "help solve specific problem..." In giving second rank to "give people more direct say in government," the less knowlegeables may be expressing a justifiable conviction that the existing system of regional governance seems / remote, as well as a hope that a carefully designed new regional government will work better.

Finally, it is perhaps noteworthy that all of the top four reasons given by both groups have also been seriously presented by regional government proponents as ends that it could accomplish or at least facilitate. Thus the expectations of both sets of respondents, while differing as indicated, may not be at all unrealistic.

Reasons for Opposition

Those who opposed the regional governmental proposal offered five main reasons (see Table 5). First, they objected to the prospect of adding an additional layer of government to those already in existance, frequently adding that there was already too much government. This view, expressed by fully 43 percent of those opposing the plan, also appears to express broader anti-governmental sentiments held by many parts of the electorate. Nineteen percent expressed the closely related concern that regional government would cost more money, and therefore add to the tax burden. Fifteen percent felt that state government should solve the problem, or that a regional government would hinder the activities of the state, or specifically those of the Governor, or otherwise be unfair to the rest of the state. Many of these apparently were not expressing opposition to the regional government proposal as such, but rather to the arguments for separating Northern Californi from Southern California.

Smaller proportions offered two additional classic objections to regional government. Eleven percent felt that their local problems were best solved at the city or county level, or that the region was too large a unit or too far from the people for effective local governance. And 6 percent feared that a regional government might not represent their own local area fairly or might give too much power to some other specified part of the Bay Area, especially its larger cities.

Although education and previous awareness of the governmental proposal seem to make less difference among opponents than among proponents, these factors did help reduce the "don't knows" or irrelevant answers, and otherwise focus the negative responses on main reasons for opposing the proposal. The focusing was particularly pronounced in the case of respondents who had at least some college. Their two biggest response categories were the related items (1) and (4) in Table 5. Thus 42 percent opposed because they felt that the proposal would add another layer of government, or that there is too much government already. And 22 percent held that local problems could best be solved at the city or county level, or that the region is too big or too far from the people. These two reasons appear to account for most of the opposition of these better educated respondents who were against the regional government proposal. Interestingly enough, concerns with costs and increased taxation were rated a poor fourth by this group, 13 percent. The cost factor should not be discounted, however, as those who had heard of the proposal gave money matters and increased taxes a strong second rank of 24 percent.

In summary, the three principal concerns of the knowledgeable opponents appear to be (1) adding another layer of government, (2) keeping problems at the local level, and (3) keeping costs down. When examined closely,

these concerns seem to betray a lack of awareness of what is going on in the region, as well as a misunderstanding of what the proposed regional government would do. Thus in terms of its role as an umbrella agency, the proposed government could hardly be termed "another level," which presumably would equate it to the major groups of units, such as cities, counties and school districts. Moreover its role would be primarily planning and coordination, and it would not engage in the provision of governmental services as do the others.

Further, there is ample evidence, generally accepted by local governmental representatives themselves, that the problems in question cannot be solved at the local level. This inability has already caused many problems to migrate upward to the regional or state levels. In fact this migration, and the resulting diffusion of the power to decide issues affecting the Bay Area, are the principal reasons why the regional governmental proposal has been put forth. Finally, realistic fiscal estimates for the proposed new government anticipated that it would not spend more than a tiny one hundredth of one percent of government's total price tag in the San Francisco Bay region.

PROBLEMS FOR A NEW REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

To further explore what the public might expect of a new regional government, respondents were next asked the kinds of problems they felt a new regional government should work on first if it were established. This question was put to all respondents, whether they supported or opposed the regional government idea, or had no opinion.

As expected, the respondents mentioned a wide variety of specific problems as deserving a regional government's first attention. The problems more commonly mentioned are shown or illustrated in Table 6, where the answers also have been grouped under eight principal topic headings. Before discussing the information in this table, however, one general caution must be offered about the method of summarization employed. In both Table 6 and Table 7, the total proportion shown for each major topic represents the simple sum of the percentages of respondents who cited specific problems listed under the topic heading. Because occasional respondents cited more than one specific problem under a major topic heading, the total figures may somewhat overstate the percentage of respondents with interests in each topic area.

Perhaps the principal conclusion to be drawn from Table 6 is that, cumulatively, respondents hope or believe that a regional government might address an exceedingly broad range of problems. Many, of course, saw the regional government's missions primarily in the areas of ecological and environmental protection, transportation problems and the better coordination of government. But others saw its anticipated or hoped-for functions extending into such additional areas as improvement of schools and colleges, housing problems, improved medical

care, and aid to various minorities or deprived groups, such as the elderly. Others felt it should focus on public order problems, such as crime, drugs, pornography, racial conflict, or the protection of civil rights. Still others hoped to see primary attention given to economic problems and especially to the problems of unemployment. With a Bay Area unemployment rate of approximately 8 percent at the time of the survey, and reaching an exceptionally high 13 percent in the East Bay cities of Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, and Alameda, it is not surprising that many respondents seemed to direct their attention to their most pressing needs.*

A closer look at Table 6, and especially a comparison between responses of those who had heard of the regional government proposal before and those who had not, reveals some very significant differences. Those who had heard of the proposal rated ecological, pollution and environmental problems much higher than did their less knowledgeable fellow residents: 66 percent against 35 percent. They also ranked transportation problems much higher: 43 percent against 21 percent.

Thus the well-informed seemed to see very clearly that the principal intent of the legislation was to improve the ways governments in the Bay Area deal with the big physical, environmental and planning problems, as was touched on above. But both they and their less knowledgeable neighbors went on from there. Thus both groups gave modest but nontheless

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*The unemployment figures cited in the text are preliminary figures from Bay Area Survey #1.

significant votes to such problem areas as public order; economic problems; health, education and welfare; housing and land use; and governmental problems, including coordination, high taxes, unfair distribution of revenues, etc.

What does this wide distribution of responses mean? Conceivably it could mean that many respondents are over-optimistic in hoping that regional government can help in a lot of problem areas, where in fact it cannot. On the other hand, this could signify a dawning recognition that, in a complex and closely interrelated urban community like the Bay Area, everything is tied together in such a way that improved performance in one major area can/help improve performance in another. be expected to

Certainly the comprehensive planning function of the regional government could, in time, have substantial influence on regional land use patterns, housing distribution, location and accessibility of employment opportunities, and distribution of the tax base. Moreover some observers are convinced that a representative regional government would, by the simple logic of necessity and public demand, be forced to become the agenda-setting agency for the Bay / Area in dealing with a host of regional issues, reaching far beyond those that were foremost in the minds of its proponents at the time of its establishment. As noted, the regional government's comprehensive planning and plan implementation function would potentially have far-reaching consequences reaching well beyond physical and environmental matters alone. The votes reported in Table 6 suggest that a respectable undercurrent of Bay Area opinion would expect such a role, and presumably also support it.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

[to come]

APPENDIX A

THE BAY AREA SURVEY

The description of Bay ARea public opinion presented in this paper is based on Bay Area Survey #1, the first of a planned series of interview surveys of the Bay Area conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of California, Berkeley. The first survey completed interviews with 1,018 Bay Area adults during the four months of June-September, 1971. The survey achieved a response rate of approximately 80 percent of the occupied hosuing units included in its probability sample. Like other surveys in the planned series, Bay Area Survey #1 was undertaken to collect information on a wide variety of topics of which attitudes toward regional government was only one, and its design represented a compromise among sometimes conflicting objectives.

Three elements of the survey design are especially pertinent to the interpretation of results presented in this paper. First, interviewing was confined to the five counties comprising the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, as defined by the 1970 U.S. Census: Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, and San Mateo counties. These five counties include major portions of the urbanized San Francisco Bay Area, but do not include all the eight or nine counties which the Knox Bill would have incorporated within a Bay Conservation and Development Agency.

Second, since the survey took place during the summer of 1971, the interviews were completed before the Knox bill reached its final form. The key survey question referred to a regional government encompassing all nine counties bordering on the Bay and directly elected by the people of the region, as originally proposed by Assemblyman Knox.

Third, to accommodate other objectives of the Bay Area Survey, interviews were undertaken only with household heads and their spouses. A random choice was made between head and spouse in each household. Consequently the survey did not sample the opinions of other adult household members, such as adult children living at home, other relatives or friends sharing the home, and roomers and boarders. These omissions seem relatively unimportant, however, because household heads and their spouses comprise fully 83.4 percent of the total adult population of the area living in households, according to the 1970 U.S. Census. They probably comprise an even larger proportion of the voting population.

Since response to the interview questions may depend, at least in part, on the wording of the questions, the latter have been reproduced here in full. They began with a brief description of the regional government being proposed, and then proceeded to ask whether the respondent had heard of the idea, what he thought of it generally, the reasons for his position, and the problems he felt a regional government should address itself to if established awareness of existing agencies was also probed.

12. The California Legislature has been talking about setting up a new regional government for the nine counties that border San Francisco Bay. This new government would be directly elected by the people and would work on regional problems and long-range plans for the Bay Area.

a. Do you recall hearing anything about a new regional government for the Bay Area in the past few months?

1. Yes 2. No

b. Are you in favor of setting up a new regional government for the Bay Area or opposed to the idea? *(RECORD QUALIFICATIONS)*

1. In favor ↓ 2. Opposed ↓ 3. Don't know or haven't made up mind *(SKIP TO d.)*

IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE:

c. Why is that?

d. If a new regional government were set up for the Bay Area, what kind of problems do you think it should work on first? *PROBE:* Any others?

13a. There already are some regional agencies working on Bay Area problems. Do you happen to know the names of any of them?

1. Yes ↓ 2. No *(SKIP TO 14)*

IF YES:

b. What are they? *(ACCEPT INITIALS)* ☐ Can't recall

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

THE 1971 PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF THE BAY AREA

Several unsuccessful California legislative proposals in recent years, including Assembly Bills 711 in 1969, 2310 in 1970, and 1057 in 1971, authored by Contra Costa County Assemblyman John Knox, would have either created, or required a referendum to create, a comprehensive regional planning agency with jurisdiction in all or most of the 9-county San Francisco Bay Area. As originally introduced, the 1971 proposal (co-authored by San Francisco Senator Milton Marks), would have established a Conservation and Development Agency of the Bay Area (CDA) in 9 counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano and Sonoma. As introduced and passed by the Assembly, decisionmaking would have been assigned to a 40-member directly elected board, to be chosen in nonpartisan elections from equally apportioned districts. A 6 to 10-member executive committee was to conduct much of the agency's business.

The 1971 CDA bill provided for establishment of an "umbrella type" body responsible for comprehensive regional planning, including preparation of planning elements for Bay conservation and development, regional transportation, environmental quality, and regional parks and open space. These elements were to be the basis for authorized interim plans, and five mandatory regionwide resources plans to be adopted within three years. With the exception of the Bay plan, to be administered by the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC), the CDA was to prescribe rules and regulations to be complied with by private persons or

local governments.

The existing Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC) was to remain intact, but the CDA would have assumed the functions of the Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC, established by 1970 legislation) and the Bay Area Sewage Services Agency (BASSA--established by 1971 legislation). Thus the CDA would have been invested with comprehensive planning power, but few operating responsibilities.

Other significant powers would have permitted or required CDA review of local government financial assistance applications for state and federal grants, and the conduct of regional studies. Financing authority would have allowed imposition of a documentary transfer tax of 4 cents per $100 market value of real estate sold in the region, at the time of sale.

The bill passed the Assembly with a 48 to 17 vote, but encountered numerous amendments on the Senate side. Probably the most important change, designed especially to gain support from the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), called for an 83-member board, 40 directly elected, 40 selected by and from city and county governing bodies, and 3 selected by and from the membership of BCDC, the San Francisco Bay Area Air Pollution Control District, and the San Francisco Bay Regional Water Quality Control Board. A further amendment provided for a 10-member executive committee. A later amendment deleting Sonoma County inserted during Senate floor debate at the request of the Sonoma County Board of Supervisors, reduced the board to 77 members, 37 directly elected and 40 appointed.

Finally, still another amendment, inserted just before the Senate passed the bill by a very close vote, called for an areawide referendum

on creation of the agency, to coincide with California's June, 1972 Presidential Primary Election. The Assembly failed to concur in the referendum amendment, and the bill was sent to a joint legislative conference committee. With the author's approval, the committee offered a compromise calling for creation of the agency by the Legislature in 1972, but deferment of the referendum until 1976, following the required completion of the agency's regional general plan. The Assembly accepted the compromise but it was rejected by the Senate. A second attempt at a compromise proposed to reduce the CDA's powers during the interim before the 1976 referendum. This never materialized, presumably because many of the bill's major supporters thought this would have made the agency ineffective during its initial years.

Table A

Specific Regional Agencies Cited As "Working on Bay Area Problems" By Frequency of Mention

Agency	Number of Mentions[a] As Percent Of Total Respondents	As Percent Of Those Mentioning Any Agency
Association of Bay Area Government (ABAG)	9%	36%
Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART)	7	25
Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC)	5	19
Bay Area Air Pollution Control District	5	18
Regional Water Control Board	2	8
East Bay Regional Park District	1	4
Golden Gate Bridge, Highway, and Transportation District	1	3
State Division of Bay Toll Crossings	*	1
Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC, BATS, or RTPC)	*	1
Alameda-Contra Costa Transit District (A/C Transit)	*	*
East Bay Municipal Utility District (EBMUD)	*	*
Other identifiable agency, including local offices of state and federal agencies (OEO, HUD, etc.)	5	21
Unidentifiable agency	2	8
Base of percents	(1018)	(255)

[a]Count includes all recognizable variants of name or initials and agencies described by function, such as "smog agency" or "water pollution agency."

*Less than one half of one percent.

Table 1

Three Measures of Awareness of Regional Concerns by Education

Measure	Total	Level of Education				
		College Grad.	Some College	High Sch Grad.	Some High Sch	Grade School
(1) Percent heard of new regional government plan..	30	47	33	25	24	12
(2) Percent heard of plans to build a new bridge over San Francisco Bay.....	71	88	76	68	63	53
(3) Percent naming at least one existing regional agency in quick recall....	26	51	31	18	12	9
Base of percents[a]	(1018)	(210)	(228)	(321)	(131)	(109)

[a]In this and all following tables, the base shown is the unweighted number of interviews on which the percentage has been calculated.

Table 2

Attitude Toward Regional Government Proposal by Previous Awareness Of the Plan and Number of Existing Regional Agencies Cited in Quick Recall

Attitude Toward Regional Government Plan	Total	Heard of Plan Before		Number of Regional Agencies Cited in Quick Recall		
		Yes	No	Two+	One	None
Favor plan.....	37%	51%	31%	61%	47%	31%
Oppose Plan.....	22	23	22	23	25	22
Haven't made up mind don't know.....	41	26	47	17	28	47
Total.....	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Base of percent...	(1018)	(300)	(717)	(134)	(121)	(762)
Percent favor among those with opinion	63%	69%	59%	73%	66%	59%

Previous Awareness of the Regional Government Proposal and Attitudes Toward It by Selected Social Characteristics

Social Characteristics	Percent Heard of Plan Before	Attitude Toward Plan (All Respondents)			Percent in Favor Among Those With Opinion		Sample Size
		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know	Total	Heard of Plan Before	
Total.....	30%	37%	22	41	63%	69%	1018
Sex							
Men.....	31	37%	29	34	55	64	426
Women.....	28	37%	16	47	71	75	592
Age							
18 to 24.....	19	43%	13	44	77	79	132
25 to 44.....	29	38%	22	40	63	73	407
45 to 64.....	35	38%	25	37	61	65	355
65 and over.....	25	23%	24	53	48	62	123
Education							
College graduate.....	47	49%	18	33	73	79	210
Some college.....	33	36%	19	45	65	69	228
High school graduate....	25	36%	23	41	61	60	321
Some high school.....	24	35%	20	45	63	60	131
Grade school.....	12	27%	31	42	46		109
Ethnicity							
White (exc. Sp. surname)	33	38%	22	40	64	71	768
Black.....	24	33%	28	39	54	57	123
Spanish surname.....	4	30%	21	49	62		69
Other.....	16	37%	20	43			58
Place of Residence							
San Francisco.....	25	39%	25	36	61	65	242
Oakland,Emer,Pied,Ala...	31	34%	22	44	61	68	155
Berk,El Cer.,Richmond...	25	41%	13	46	76		120
Southern Alameda County.	23	28%	19	53	61	68	120
Central Contra Costa Co.	41	43%	17	40	72		144
Outlying East Bay.....	17	27%	36	37	43		62
San Mateo County.....	38	39%	23	38	63	73	106
Marin County.....	40	48%	20	32	71		76
Political Preference							
Strong Republican.....	34	34%	33	33	50	66	91
Other Republican.....	36	32%	19	49	62		125
Independent.....	33	45%	22	34	68	72	232
Other Democrat.....	25	34%	24	42	57	74	278
Strong Democrat.....	31	41%	20	39	68		192

Table 4

Reasons Favoring Regional Government Proposal, by Previous Awareness of Plan and Education

Reasons Favor Plan	Total	Heard of Plan Before		Education			
		Yes	No	College Grad.	Some College	High Sch. Grad.	Less Than High Sch.
(1) Region is logical unit of governance; city and county boundaries are accidental.....	20%	31%	12%	34%	25%	13%	6%
(2) Will provide benefits through coordination, cooperation of present governmental units.....	14	21	10	19	15	14	9
(3) Efficiencies to be gained by pooling resources, buying power, eliminate duplicate services, etc.	9	14	5	16	11	4	5
(4) Will give Bay Area more say vis-a-vis rest of state or state government.....	24	16	29	18	24	27	25
(5) Will give people more direct say in government or solving local problems; more democratic.....	17	11	21	10	18	21	18
(6) Will help solve specific problem of interest to respondent	16	16	16	22	16	12	13
(7) Other meaningful answer.....	7	3	10	1	7	10	12
(8) Don't know or irrelevant answer only.....	8	5	11	3	7	6	22
Total[a].....	115%	117%	114%	123%	123%	107%	110%
Base of percents.....							

[a]Total exceeds 100 percent since multiple answers were permitted.

TABLE 4a

REASONS GIVEN BY THE "KNOWLEDGEABLES"

Ranking[a]	*Reason Given*	*Heard of Plan Before*	*Coll. Grad*
1	region is a logical unit	31	34
2	coordination	21	19
3	give Bay Area more say	16	18
4	help solve specific probs	16	22

[a]Ranking by those who had heard of the plan before.

TABLE 4b

REASONS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS
HAVING LESS INFORMATION

Ranking[a]	*Reason Given*	*Not Heard of Plan Before*	*High School Grad*
1	give Bay Area more say	29	27
2	give people more direct say in government, more democratic	21	21
3	help solve specific problem	16	12
4	region is logical unit	12	13

[a]Ranking by those who had not heard of the plan before.

(by those who had heard of the proposal

TABLE 4a

REASONS GIVEN BY THE "KNOWLEDGEABLES"

Ranking[a]	Reason Given	Heard of Plan Before	Coll. Grad
1	region is a logical unit	31	34
2	coordination	21	19
3	give Bay Area more say	16	18
4	help solve specific probs	16	22

a. Ranking by those who had heard of the plan before.

TABLE 4b

REASONS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS
HAVING LESS INFORMATION

Ranking[a]	Reason Given	Not Heard of Plan Before	High School Grad
1	give Bay Area more say	29	27
2	give people more direct say in government, more democratic	21	21
3	help solve specific problem	16	12
4	region is a logical unit	12	13

a Ranking by those who had not heard of the plan before.

Table 5

Reasons Oppose Regional Government Proposal by Previous Awareness of Plan and Education

Reasons Oppose Plan	Total	Heard Of Plan Before		Education		
		Yes	No	At Least Some College	High Sch. Grad.	Less Than High Sch.
(1) Against adding more government or another layer of government, There s too much government now.	43%	41%	44%	42%	42%	47%
(2) Regional government would cost more money, add to taxes.....	19	24	16	13	27	15
(3) State government can solve problems, would tie Governor's hands, unfair to rest of state.....	15	13	16	16	19	11
(4) Local problems best solved at city or county level; region is too big or too far from people..	11	17	8	22	7	1
(5) Plan might not represent my area fairly, give too much power to another part of Bay Area.....	6	15	2	7	8	4
(6) Other meaningful answer.....	7	6	8	6	8	10
(7) Don't know or irrelevant answer only.....	11	2	16	5	10	21
Total[a].....	114	118	109	111	121	108
Base of percents.....						

[a]Total exceeds 100 percent since multiple answers were permitted.

TABLE 6

PRIORITY PROBLEMS MENTIONED FOR A NEW REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Principal Topic Headings	*Total*	*Heard of Proposal Before*	
		Yes	*No*
1. Ecological, Pollution or Environmental Problems	44%	66%	35%
Water pollution, Bay pollution, Bay fill	14%	22%	10%
Air pollution, smog	11	15	10
Environment, ecology, other or unspec.	19	29	15
2. Public Order Problems	32	23 25	24 35
Protect civil rights, civil liberties equal opportunities	4	3	4
Racial problems, other or unspecified	4	2	5
Crime and drugs	22	20	23
Pornography, alienation of youth, misc.	2	*	3
3. Transportation Problems	28	43	21
Improve public trans., rapid trans.	8	12	7
Traffic congestion, freeways, bridges	5	5	4
Transportation, other and unspecified	15	26	10
4. Economic Problems	24	20	26
Unemployment; find people jobs	18	16	20
Other economic, labor-management, industrial development	6	4	6
5. Health, Education and Welfare Problems	22	23	24
Improve schools, colleges, etc.	10	12	10
Health problems, medical care	3	3	3
Aid minorities, elderly, poor, misc.	9	8	11
6. Housing and Land Use	18	21	17
Housing problems, slums, zoning, high-rises	13	15	12
Parks and recreation areas	5	6	5
7. Governmental Problems	16	23	14
High taxes, unfair distrib. of taxes	10	13	8
Coordination, functioning, honesty of government, and other	6	10	6
8. Other Problems	10	11	10
9. No Problems--Can't Think of Any	19	9	23
Total[a] answers	212%	243%	202%
Base of percents	(1018)	(300)	(717)

[a]Total exceeds 100 percent as multiple answers were permitted.

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